Caranga ÷
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

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114 In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion, and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had
123 singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya, convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/
124 to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered.
91 Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had pitiful informants in them.

121 A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would
183 have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these
98 Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 5]

/113 cont./

178 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissemblings for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
771 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves
121 only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My docu-
174 ments have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in
[126] a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

104 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); č corresponds to the Spanish "ch," ž to the French "ch," ǰ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign k^{x} is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel e is a very open e close to a closed a.

/115 cont./

161 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
121 Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants
[161] (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

651
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1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

/393 cont./

764 with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Čipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their holdings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body re-
[152] poses. The husband gave out a few more tears near the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who
765 came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous kettles full of quinua pulp on the fire.
[171] Among the Čipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near
[152] him busy preparing his dinner. On /394/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

121 The stay that I made among the Čipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing
[191] this task was not always easy for me. The Čipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word
[124] of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

Carangas –
Chipaya

394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

Carangas—
Chipaya

/338 cont./

borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

Carangas-
Chipaya

/339 cont./

with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system complicated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter, a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

/181 cont./

*539 [501] it will not rot. 8. This is a balsa from the big lake. 9. Its prow is raised. 10. That one is a big balsa. 11. That one is a small balsa. 12. There are no other balsas. 13. This is a house of the other people (the Aymara). 14. This is a house of unburnt bricks (adobes). 15. This is a house of the Aymara community (lit., "of the other people"). 16. What more shall I tell thee? That is all. 17. Now I want to rest, oh father.

Remarks

*539 124 This text reproduces the comments of old Manuel Inta, looking at a series of photographs of his native village, Iru-Itu, and of the region. The photographs of Iru-Itu were recognized without difficulty; those of less familiar sites provoked various reflections before being well identified (13-15).

*539 193 1. xwí, interrogative particle; kapíllá, this is the Spanish word capilla, "chapel." 4. We have not found any passive form among the Uru; to express the idea "has been seen from the back," the informant used the active voice: cèrk'- ku ɨi- nís- ɨay, literally one he has seen; ku indicates the recent past. It must be noted that this cast of mind was spontaneous, no question having been put to him; ɨ used in the text is an elision for i, "one," and has suffered a contraction with the previous vowel. 9. hoća expresses the idea of "point," being able to indicate as well as the raised prow of the balsa, a mountain summit, the nose, or the verb "to point" in the sense of being in a pointed form. 9-10-11. The narrator describes the three principal types of balsas of the Uru: with a raised, pointed prow for navigation on Titicaca (big lake); the big fishing balsas of the Desaguadero for three or four people, and the small balsas for one or two people. 13-15. tòxša, "others," or tòxša náka, /182/ "other people," the usual way to designate

*539 [501]

[101] [829]

/185/

Urus." Some authors (Posnansky) have thought that ɔ̈ûmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anonuio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the name of Ochozuma. awɨ̈ri or awäri designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead. tïkistïkni-ɔ̈ay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pït'-ɔ̈aïɔ̈ay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ɔ̈u followed by the pure root. 5. ɔ̈kït- ti designates clothes in general.

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/18v/

Remarks

[134] This little very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

[192] [193] 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kŏ- čay is used for kŏ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. líka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; hp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kę- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; ircát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

[191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes či- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

Ire. 1 Fa
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 1: The Uru lady who by unanimous consent had taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate.

Africa 7-6 (ca.1954) 1955
SF34 Chu SF34

Fig. 2: The village church

Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P. 306-A]

B/Faln T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955
8734 thru 8736

is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths taken from Tiahuanaco. The early paintings in their charming frames are in bad condition and some much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof; there is an embossed silver altar as we find them even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia, and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb, and was gone.

We followed the road towards the lake till we came to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After a short distance the track ended. The professor said: "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material and followed on foot, the professor like the Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material represented a considerable weight which at that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared a number of small adobe houses. The professor was still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting group to the rear. But finally realising that there is a limit to human endurance, he gave way gracefully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched, we approached the village, where Vellard called on the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must go to the house of the local centenarian, where we should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-

[Tie, the village of Tiahuanaco --Analyst]

[p. 309 - A]

0.6.93 T-6 ON...1.8.94: 1.8.0
6/26 thru 6/26
Pro Tem

in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked the parent of pure Urn we could make a sound recording.

A badly bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Urn streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spanish said she was well over a hundred. Had she been less dead and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sacre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Ross's efforts with the recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realising that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Urn eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his coca, lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come to a moment

SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Ifu

city to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waived my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Boris and Roca, not having sleeping-bags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies. Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *pampa*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and hear this band over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [*]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to [illegible] Reflective Quarters.

*) Yareta, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

199 2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the hereinbefore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

114 199 800 3. There is as as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uru." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems.[9]

English	*Quechua*	*Aymará*	*Puquina*	*Uru*
One	huc	maya	pesc	ñi
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bink
Three	quimsa	kimsa	cupa	ñuk
Four	tahua	pusi	quer	Ba'Ek'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'tsuka
Six	socta	soxta	chichua	tazñuka
Seven	canchis	pagalqo	stu	Duko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	jatunka	checa	tan'Go
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Orc's Puquina (shi; pisko; chep; pácpic, pácric; pacnucu; pacchui; tahoco; cohonco; tankao;ckalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

114 199 There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Ujo gave me decisive proof. They call their language *kahina*, *puhina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

[9] Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Race*, p. 223; Aymará from my own field notes; Puquina from Geronimo de Orc, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *hoaq'o-haq'o* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymara and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Ancasqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya de Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111–120, 325–415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155–207, 337–394; *idem*, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancasqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 29) pp. 75–110; *idem*, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (American Anthropologist 12: 417–24, 1910), pp. 412–413.